

APPENDIX C. SOVIET PUBLIC STATEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO CUBAN SECURITY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.
Washington, September 10, 1961.

Hon. J.W. FULBRIGHT,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations.
U.S. Senate.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: At the joint briefing on Wednesday for the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, the Secretary of State indicated he would submit for the record a statement relating to the commitments suggested by the recent Soviet military shipments to Cuba.

I am enclosing an analysis of Soviet public statements with respect to this situation; a copy has also been sent to Chairman Russell. The covering sheet is confidential, but the quotations of Soviet statements are, of course, unclassified.

If I can be of any further assistance on this matter, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick G. Dutton.

Enclosure.

SOVIET PUBLIC STATEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO CUBAN SECURITY

SUMMARY

The Soviets have been circumspect in public statements about a "commitment" to render assistance to Cuba in the event the latter were attacked. Probably the strongest statement was Khrushchev's July 1960 threat of missile support for Cuba, but this statement was soon qualified as a "symbolic" one. Khrushchev's April 1-, 1961 letter to President Kennedy also contained a strong promise of Soviet assistance to Cuba in repelling armed attack; but it made no specific reference to the armed attack then in progress but quite clearly already a failure. Other authoritative Soviet statements have referred generally to "well-known" warnings of the Soviet Union, and Soviet propaganda has warned that a U.S.-Cuba conflict could broaden into a world war.

Khrushchev implied in September 1961 that the Soviet Union could hold as hostages for Cuba the countries on the Soviet periphery with which the United States has military alliances and in which the United States has bases.

There has never been any evidence that the Castro regime has been admitted to the Warsaw Pact, the only multilateral military alliance of the Communist bloc embracing the Soviet Union and seven East European Communist states. There was a report that Raul Castro requested Cuban admission to the Warsaw Pact during his visit to Moscow this July, but that the request was denied. A Soviet commentary on Cuban developments this week specifically denied that Cuba was a Warsaw Pact member. There is also no evidence that the Soviets and Cuba have concluded a bilateral military alliance; and Khrushchev specifically denied in September 1961 that any such agreement existed.

In April 1961 Khrushchev denied that the Soviets had any military "base" in Cuba or intended to establish one there; and the denial that one exists was repeated in Soviet propaganda this week.

The Soviet-Cuban September 2, 1962 communiqué providing for arms assistance to Cuba and asserting Moscow's "right" to help Cuba ensure its security constitutes the most binding assurance the U.S.S.R. has officially given in underwriting the Cuban regime's security. However, it still stops short of the full-fledged Soviet commitment to defend Cuba in specific situations which is a feature of Soviet military assistance treaties with the Communist bloc states.

QUOTATIONS, PRINCIPAL SOVIET PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON DEFENSE OF CUBA

Warning that Soviet rockets can protect Cuba:

It should be borne in mind that the United States is now not at such an unattainable distance from the Soviet Union as formerly. Figuratively speaking, if need be, Soviet artillerymen can support the Cuban people with their rocket fire should the aggressive forces in the Pentagon dare to start intervention against Cuba. And the Pentagon could be well advised not to forget that, as shown at the latest tests we have rockets which can land precisely in a preset square target 13,000 kilometers away. This, if you want, is a warning to those who would like to solve international problems by force and not by reason.

(Khrushchev July 9, 1960 Kremlin speech, commenting on planned U.S. cancellation of sugar purchase from Cuba.)

Rocket Support Warning Attenuated:

(TASS Summary) "The head of the Soviet Government noted that he would like his statements regarding aid to Cuba in the case of armed aggression against that country 'really to be symbolic'."

(Full Text) Mr. KHRUSHCHEV. I should like such statements to be really symbolic, as the enemies of the Cuban revolution say. For this purpose, it is essential that the imperialists' threat of intervention against Cuba should not resolve into military operations, and then there should be no need to test the reality of our statement concerning armed assistance to the Cuban people against aggression. Is this clear?

Senor FRANQUI. We shall also use this figuratively in the case if they do not attack us meanwhile.

Mr. KHRUSHCHEV. That is right.

Senor FRANQUI. I should like you to get me right. It would be fine if the threats did not exist.

Mr. KHRUSHCHEV. That is right.

Senor FRANQUI. I should like you to get me right. It would be fine if the threats did not exist.

Mr. KHRUSHCHEV. Yes.

Senor FRANQUI. But if this threat does exist, if this threat is carried out, it seems to me that rockets are adequately prepared for this?

Mr. KHRUSHCHEV. Unquestionably. You got it right. It would be fine if there should be no aggression. And we are doing everything not to launch combat rockets because it is human life, the flourishing of life, and not the destruction of human beings that is our supreme concern.

(Khrushchev October 22 interview with director of Cuban newspaper *Revolucion*; Soviet versions released October 29.)

Soviets Ready To Provide "Any" Assistance:

We should not forget that Cuba is not alone today, that Cuba has many friends in the world, and that among the most sincere friends of the Cuban Republic, who are ready to provide any assistance, the Soviet Union is to be found. The Soviet delegation wishes to make this statement today most clearly, most definitely.

Soviet Representative's Statement in UNGA Committee April 15, 1961 during discussion of Cuban exiles invasion at Bay of Pigs that morning.

Soviets Will Render All Necessary Assistance To Royal Armed Attacked on Cuba:

As to the Soviet Union, there should be no misunderstanding our position: We shall render the Cuban people and their government all necessary assistance in beating back armed attack on Cuba.

(Khrushchev April 15, 1961 letter to President Kennedy concerning Bay of Pigs attack.)

Soviets Have and Seek No Military Base in Cuba:

As for the Soviet Union, we have stated on many occasions, and I am stating again, that our government does not seek any advantages or privileges in Cuba. We do not have any bases in Cuba, and we do not intend to establish any. This is well known to you, to your generals and admirals. If, despite this, they still try to frighten the people by fabrications about "Soviet bases" in Cuba, this is obviously designed for simpletons. But there are fewer and fewer such simpletons, including in the United States, I hope.

(Khrushchev's April 22, 1961 reply to President Kennedy's letter of April 18 concerning Cuban Developments and World Affairs.)

U.S. Cuban Policy Can Lead to World War:

As for your concern for the emigres expelled by the Cuban people, I should like to add the following: You are well aware, of course, that there are emigres in many countries who are dissatisfied with the situation and the system existing in the countries they fled from. If the abnormal practice were introduced into the relations between states of using these emigres, especially arms in hand, against the countries they fled from, it can be openly said that this would inevitably lead to conflicts and wars. Therefore, it would be well to forebear from such unreasonable actions. This is a slippery and dangerous road which can lead the world to a new global war. (*Ibid.*)

U.S. Action Against Cuba Fraught with Serious Consequences:

The Government of the Soviet Union sent the Government of the United States messages in which it condemned the armed incursion and warned that it could bring terrible consequences. The aggression against Cuba has brought about an exacerbation of the international situation but we would like to look optimistically upon the further development of events in this part of the world. The peoples expect the statement of the United States to draw the correct conclusions and the necessary lessons from what has happened.

Cuba became a victim of aggression. However, its leaders showed not only a reasonable approach but nobility and proposed holding talks with the United States to eliminate the tension in the relations between the countries and normalize the situation in the Caribbean area—Cuba and the United States are neighbors and must live like good neighbors. Certain sober people in the United States are calling for action on the principle of "live and let live." It would be a good thing if the United States used this principle in its relations with Cuba and other countries. Such an approach would be to the mutual advantage both of Cuba and of the United States and would not damage anybody's prestige. If, however, contrary to common sense, the imperialists in the United States embark on a new open adventure against the Cuban Republic, a situation fraught with serious consequences, above all for the United States itself, will be created. In our times, the adventures of the imperialist cannot be unpunished.

(Khrushchev comments on Cuba in May 6, 1961 Yerevan speech.)

Moscow Would Respond to Cuban Appeal for Assistance Despite Lack of Treaty:

We recognize Cuba as an independent nation and she has the right to establish the internal system her people may choose. If she is attacked, she may count on the help of all peace-loving nations ready to fight against aggression. We have no treaties with Cuba, but if she appeals to us for help in case of aggression against her, we will of course not leave such an appeal unanswered.

(Khrushchev September 5, 1961 interview with *New York Times* correspondent C.L. Sulzberger.)

U.S.S.R. Could Move Against Iran, Turkey, Greece:

In international affairs it is necessary to display self-control and patience. Take Iran, for example. The United States has set up its military bases in that country with the agreement of the Shah. Americans actually hold sway in Iran's economy and in her army. Naturally enough, we do not like that because American actions in Iran are directed against our security. So what should we do? Of course we are strong and could attack Iran. It would be a simple matter because our might is incomparably greater. But if we were guided by the idea that the strong should beat the weak, it would mean the introduction of club rule in international relations instead of peaceful co-existence. Or see what is going on in Turkey. She is our neighbor, but you have stationed your bases there and threaten us from those bases. You have set up bases in Greece as well, and are threatening us and our ally Bulgaria from there. But we are displaying self-restraint and patience with regard to those countries. It would be reasonable if the United States were guided by the same principles in its relations with other countries.

(*Ibid.*)

"Well Known" Soviet Warnings Repeated:

Cuba is not alone. It has many friends, not only in Latin America but throughout the world, and the Soviet Union is among them. The Republic of Cuba, as it was clearly declared by the head of the Soviet Government, N.S. Khrushchev, can always rely on the help and support of the Soviet people. The well-known warnings of the Soviet Government to the enemies of People's Cuba remain in force today, too.

(Soviet Government Statement of February 18, 1968, following OAS Punta del Este Conference on Cuba.)

And Again:

Our government and Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev personally have made repeated statements about the firm and resolute support of the Soviet Union to the just cause of the Cuban Republic, statements that the Soviet Government's warnings addressed to the enemies of People's Cuba remain in force today too.

(Soviet Deputy Premier Kozlov's June 25, 1962 speech at Cuban Embassy reception in connection with July 26 Movement festivities.)

Soviet Ambassador Promises Support:

Aleksandr Alekseyev, the new Soviet ambassador to Cuba, reiterated that the Soviet people will help the brotherly Cuban people to offset any misfortune that may overtake them. "The Soviet Union will help the Cuban people under any circumstances."

(Havana Radio summary of Soviet Ambassador's remarks August 14, 1962.)

Moscow Asserts "Right" to Help Ensure Cuban Security:

During the stay of Comrades Guevara and Aragones, views were also exchanged in connection with the threats of aggressive imperialist quarters against Cuba. In view of these threats, the Cuban Government asked the Soviet Government to help it by delivering armaments and sending technical specialists to train Cuban servicemen. The Soviet Government attentively considered this request of the Cuban Government, and agreement was reached on this question. As long as the above-mentioned quarters continue to threaten Cuba, the Cuban Republic has every justification for taking the measures necessary to insure its security and safeguard its sovereignty and independence, while all Cuba's true friends have every right to respond to this legitimate request.

(Soviet-Cuban Communiqué September 2, 1962.)

Cuba Not a Warsaw Pact Member; No Soviet Base in Cuba:

It is necessary to recall that Cuba does not belong to the Warsaw Pact organization and not a single Soviet military base exists on its territory.

(Moscow Radio September 3, 1962 commentary on Soviet economic and military assistance to Cuba.)

US Invasion of Cuba Can Result in International Conflict:

The U.S. imperialist policy toward Cuba represents a dangerous sign against peace. A U.S. attempt to invade Cuba with its armed forces can result in an international conflict.

(*Ibid.*)